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changes of information and ideas among scholars in related fields, are becoming increasingly more apparent.[1]

Accordingly, during the first two years of my research on the Sea Islands, I worked with Faith Mitchell, an anthropologist who had spent several years in the area. Faith's assistance in helping me to understand the similarities and differences between Sea Island practices and those of certain peoples of Africa was invaluable. She introduced me to several families in the Wadmalaw community and pointed out such African survivals in the culture as iron casting, fishing techniques, and family practices that she, as an anthropologist, recognized quickly but I, as a linguist, did not.

The interdisciplinary approach also provided reciprocal rewards for her. Since "root medicine" always generated lively conversation, I often used it as a topic for gathering linguistic data. Faith accompanied me on what she called my "collecting trips," became interested in the topic, and later wrote a book on the subject called *Hoodoo Medicine*.

Any attempt to study a culture without adequate knowledge of its language, social structure, and history will be abortive, producing disappointing results. To avoid this danger, I decided to familiarize myself with as much of the literature of the Sea Island area as possible by preparing a bibliography of readings in linguistics, literature, anthropology, folklore, history, and sociology. In assembling a working bibliography, I included such sources as travel guides, local newspapers, magazines, dialect dictionaries, government reports, and miscellaneous publications of local societies. Information from sources of this nature will often, I learned, give detail to geography, climatic conditions, food sources, drug use, towns, cities, ocean and bridge conditions, and the like, in addition to suggesting social contacts.[2]

One usually arrives at a research design or an objective through intense reading and inquiry into one's target area. Without such theoretical preparation, one will have little, if any, idea what problems need solving. It took an immersion in the historical circumstances that have produced the language and culture of the Sea Islands to make me satisfied that I would recognize an Africanism when I heard one. In any research study, of course, defining and analyzing the research design before field exploration begins will both expose facts relevant to solving the problem and determine the methods and approaches which are likely to be most effective for the study. One has to decide where the work will be done, the probable time necessary for effective inves-

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Notes

Preface

1. For a note on the usefulness of interdisciplinary approaches see David DeCamp, "Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Speech Continuum," in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 369.

2. For a detailed discussion of field procedures in general see Kenneth Goldstein, *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (Hatboro, N.C.: Folklore Assoc., 1964).

3. See ibid., p. 21.

4. Juanita Jackson, Sabra Slaughter, and J. Herman Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," *Black Scholar*, March 1974, pp. 32–39.

5. For further discussion of entrance into Sea Island communities see Patricia Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah: Sex, Age, and Mobility" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976).

6. Goldstein, *Guide for Field Workers*, p. 173.

Introduction

1. The titles *Mr.* and *Miss* have more significance in Sea Island communities than they do outside. They are used in daily interaction with those who are felt to have earned particular respect, becoming part of their names.

2. See Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 11–12.

Chapter 1

1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource," p. 32.

2. These estimates were derived primarily from the Berkeley-Charleston-Dorchester (BCD) Council of Governments' *Report on Economically Less Developed Areas in the Berkeley Charleston Dorchester Region*, 1980.

3. For a detailed discussion of the folk life and language of Sandy Island and the

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Acknowledgments

122 My thanks to the University of California at Los Angeles for research support I have received in the past several years, through summer and sabbatical assistance. Funds from the Institute of American Cultures, College Institute Program, Faculty Career Development Program, and the Academic Senate were most generous.

•127 In my search for information on the Gullahs I visited and had correspondence with many libraries. While investigations were not always fruitful, every library staff was helpful. I wish to thank the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; Methodist Church Archives, Wofford College; Baptist Collection, Furman University; Beaufort Township Library, South Carolina; South Carolina Historical Society; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Library of Congress; Cornell University Library; Houghton Library, Harvard University; Historical Society of Wisconsin; Interlibrary Loan staff at the University of California at Los Angeles; and Oscar Sims, Social Science Bibliographer at UCLA.

128 I have received encouragement and suggestions from a number of people. My colleague Ruth Bloch read two important chapters of the manuscript and offered useful suggestions for rewriting. Daniel Littlefield of Louisiana State University read and commented on my chapter on the African slave trade and shared with me his historiographical knowledge of source material. Michael Mullin of California State University, Sacramento, read an earlier draft of the manuscript and offered perceptive comments. My colleague Gary Nash referred me to important source material and read an early version of the manuscript with much care and

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and she deserves my thanks and gratitude. My beloved aunt, Hattie Clark Harrison, who so much looked forward to publication of this book died this year before it went to press. Though we in her immediate and extended family miss her sorely, she is alive in us all. Her legacy of vitality, generosity, and love is a wellspring which continues to empower her "children" with fortitude.

On the professional and personal level, I owe much to Graham R. Hodges. He read the dissertation and the manuscript drafts with interest and thoughtfulness, offering ideas for improvement in my discussion of the colonial black experience and black participation in the War for Independence. Graham's impressive knowledge of these two periods as they affected blacks in the Northeast, informed my own evaluation of the Carolina situation. He was particularly helpful in alerting me to primary and secondary early American sources, from which much can be learned about black activities and the black-white counterpoint. Most of all Graham, thanks for many hours of listening, for cheerful encouragement, and for being a friend.

Finally, for my parents, words of thanks and acknowledgment in no way convey adequately how much is owed. I dedicate this book to them with love, respect, admiration, and gratitude.

[p. xvi is blank]

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175 ally moved ministers and planters. Also the Great Awakening of the colonial era touched South Carolina even if it did not linger there for very long. And early Methodists actively tried bringing Christianity to the Gullahs, but were under bans of proscription as an antislavery denomination. Hence, prior to the movement begun by the Methodist Missionary Society in 1829, most slaves working in the fields received their "Christian" instruction from fellow slaves. When slaves accepted Christianity under Methodist and later Baptist tutelage, they embraced it selectively, fusing Christianity with African traditions to create Gullah folk religion. This religion was a means of explaining experiential reality for the Gullahs on sacred and secular levels. If community was the base or substance of Gullah life, spirituality (a more appropriate term, I think, than religion) was the superstructure upon which the foundation was posited.

The final area of investigation in my broadly considered three-tier thematic construct, is resistance—perhaps the most debated issue in the North American bondage experience. There is a tendency to interpret resistance in its strictest sense—as bloodletting or flight to freedom. These are obvious means of rebellion, and from the beginning, African-Carolinians were a restless, insurgent group. This study is a further comment on that spirit of resistance. Yet I primarily delve into what are in my opinion equally meaningful ways of analyzing resistance to enslavement. The Denmark Vesey Conspiracy denotes the end (as far as historical knowledge goes) of concerted efforts at black liberation among the Gullahs. The revelation of the Conspiracy and subsequent debates over the value of religious instruction (since the event was planned under the guise of religion) ushered in, paradoxically, a movement to convert the slave population in South Carolina. From outward appearances the Vesey Conspiracy marked the end of organized black resistance in South Carolina. This is the juncture at which I believe the question of resistance takes on expanded meaning. I attempt to demonstrate that resistance against white power and hegemony was conspicuous in the Gullahs' sense of cultural autonomy, authoritative, creative community-building, and their spiritual disengagement from the slaveocracy's version of Christian teachings. The means and methods of their accomplishment are viewed through the Gullah community and folk religion.

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• 127 I have benefited greatly from the works of previous writers. W. E. B. DuBois was among the first to discuss elements of continuity between

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121 the African tradition and the "spiritual strivings" of African-Americans.
•127 He was also a pioneer in expressing the historic role and significance of black religion as a means of political protest. And Sterling Brown, another sage of African-American cultural thought, observed over forty years ago, that much could be learned of black life-style and values through studying the folklore of slaves. Brown, one of the earliest interpreters of black thought, viewed folktales, spirituals and narratives as historical documents that spoke "with convincing finality against the legend of contented slavery." Thus more recent scholarship on the slave community, from which my own work draws directly, is part of a tradition begun with the exploratory works of African-American writers of previous generations. Among current scholars, perhaps the most extensive elaboration of the importance of black culture as a means of delving into the black mind-set is provided by Lawrence Levine in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*. Levine's seminal work provides an impressive continuum for probing black culture and black thought through analysis of slave folk beliefs, spirituals, and African-American fusion of the sacred and secular. Levine's general discussions of the significance of African traditions and behavior patterns among bondspeople is supported in the particular case of the Gullahs. He debates, as I do, the contention that slaves did not oppose bondage and he maintains that if historians cannot perceive the "sacred universe created by slaves as a serious alternative to the societal system created by southern slaveholders," it is perhaps the historians' problem and not the slaves'.[5]

121 114

My book is a regionally limited and more concentrated study involving only the period of enslavement. Levine's work permeates myriad areas of black thought, encompassing bondage *and* freedom, allowing for an emphasis somewhat different from mine and for a greater range of cultural and aesthetic treatment. Bondage takes up only two, albeit important, trend-setting chapters of *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*. My attention focuses on a full interpretation of one group's spiritual experience in a manner not previously explored. For instance, I see evidence of a strong New Testament ideology and outlook among the Gullahs as they embraced Christianity. Levine does not ignore this impact, but sees more Old Testament messages in general African-American consciousness.[6] Additionally, my work discusses the means by which slaves may have forged African sacred-secular traditions and offers explanations about *how* meanings of religious symbols and rituals related to social processes

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gest ways in which Gullahs interpreted Christianity, and how Africanity was integrated into Christianity, into attitudes toward life, death, and the supernatural. I do not argue for direct, fixed, or unchanging transmission of African religion and culture. Yet persistence of traditional beliefs, embedded in a recently created society, is not remarkable. Nor should we assume that traditional African customs and beliefs necessarily disintegrated before Christian and white cultural icons.[12] Still my aim is to demonstrate African-Gullah adaptability in their interaction with another major cultural form, and their capacity for change and meaningful continuity given the realities of new situations.

I rely heavily upon primary sources in this book, although my discussion on African culture and cosmology is an exception. Here the emphasis is on secondary material. This was necessary since I aim to fuse history and anthropology into ethnohistory. It was not always possible to obtain sources directly from the Gullahs. Yet I have tried to articulate their social history by using sources at least derived from the Gullahs. Thus, missionary reports and sketches, spirituals, folk practices and customs, diaries, church minutes, and similar types of records are used extensively. Sources which support interpretations and historical depictions of white attitudes toward religious instruction are also mainly primary. And whenever applicable and possible, I attempted to incorporate current historiographical trends into this study.

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APPENDIX A

Ethnic Origins of Carolina Slaves

This appendix explains my own tabulations for ethnic origins of Carolina slaves. A valuable source of information for studying African origins was published in four volumes by Elizabeth Donnan. Her works are based on primary sources consisting of ships' records, newspaper advertisements, records of the Royal African Company, the correspondence of Henry Laurens and other merchants, and various documents illustrating the pattern and magnitude of the international slave trade. Donnan's volume on the Southern colonies was particularly useful for examining the slave trade to Carolina because the records of that colony were so well preserved and because white Carolinians made a fetish of regional provenance where human cargo was concerned. From these data we obtain an impression of the coastal origins of many cargoes entering Charleston harbor, and it appears that Africans of the Windward Coast and Senegambia regions provided South Carolina with the majority of its forced laborers for nearly forty years.

Table A.1 represents my calculation of the ethnic origins of slaves entering South Carolina during the middle period of the international slave trade. It was compiled from a tabulation of lists of cargoes published by Elizabeth Donnan. Table A.2 is a rough numerical calculation of slaves identifiable by African origins entering Charleston during the middle period of the trade. Since many cargoes did not indicate size, our estimate for this unknown was based upon the average number of slaves on vessels which did indicate the size of their cargo. Deliberately ex-

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APPENDIX E

Gullah Folkways

Because they occupied a position of servitude, the Gullahs had to accept outwardly, points of view, customs, and beliefs to which they were exposed by the dominant society. Nevertheless, through subtlety and secretiveness they were able to retain some of their previously held beliefs and practices. After slavery, the Gullahs were occasionally willing to share some of their beliefs, customs, and "superstitions" with those readily identifiable as friends, or with those who would not censure the Gullahs for their ways of thinking. Thus a wealth of information about Gullah culture was collected from various sources, but particularly by WPA workers. The following information related to Gullah folk religion and supernatural beliefs provides a mere sample of the material. Unless otherwise stated, this information on Gullah folk beliefs was taken from the WPA files at the South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. Although more research is needed in this area, it was nevertheless possible to trace some of these beliefs to African origins.

Folk Beliefs

Spirits show themselves to babies more often than to grown people. When babies smile or cry out in their sleep, it is because some spirit is amusing or troubling them.

If there is a baby in a house of death, pass the baby over the coffin. This will prevent the spirit from returning to trouble the baby.

People born with a caul or veil over their faces are supposed to have strange powers, to foretell the future, see spirits, etc.[4]

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58. Article written by Sancho, a former slave, in the Papers of Hugh A. C. Walker, HSSCC.

59. Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 10, 22–23; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 122; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 79, 91; Wightman Ledger and Notebook, 1801, Papers of William May Wightman, HSSCC; Asbury, *Journals*, III: 9, 14; Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings*, 102–3, 105–6.

60. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 22–26; Shipp, *Methodism in South Carolina*, 467.

61. Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism*, 156; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 61–62; Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings*, 96–97; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 117; Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, passim; Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 64.

62. George, *Segregated Sabbaths*, 69–86; Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, 80; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 14–15; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 92–93; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 120–124; Archie Epps, "A Negro Separatist Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *The Harvard Law Review* 4, no. 1 (Summer–Fall, 1966): 70–72.

63. Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 124–26; Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 92–94; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 2–3.

64. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 93, 145; Epps, "A Negro Separatist Movement," 71, 75; Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 74, 87–88, 125.

65. The most thorough study is Lofton, *Denmark Vesey;* Also see Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 113–153; Richard Wade, "The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Social History* (May, 1964); Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Black Rebellion* (New York: Arno Press, 1969; repr. from 1889 ed.), 215–75; Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War*, 49–86; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey;* Richard Wade has maintained that the conspiracy never really existed. Wade is refuted by Sterling Stuckey in "Remembering Denmark Vesey," *Negro Digest* (February, 1966); and to a lesser extent by Freehling, in *Prelude to Civil War*, 53–61. Yet John Oliver Killens has made objections to Freehling's and Wade's presentations of the conspiracy, describing their interpretations as distorted. Freehling adopts the language of the slaveholders. He portrays Denmark Vesey as "a powerful unscrupulous man who was given to fits of rage and violence," and as a man who employed a "skillful fusion of the high ideals of the Age of Reason with the ruthless savagery of a barbaric chief." Bibliographic note in Kennedy and Parker. (*Trial*, xiv.) Freehling's characterization of Gullah Jack is also taken from the slaveholder's presentation. The author wrote:

> Possessed of tiny limbs, which looked *grotesque* despite his small frame, Gullah Jack had enormous whiskers, which seemed monstrous on the *balting* Denmark Vesey. No witch doctor ever looked more the part . . . a sorcerer whose bizarre appearance, wild gestures and malevolent glances could terrorize the bravest slave. (55–56).

66. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 45, 58, 63–65, 114–15; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 21, 62, 25. The late Professor Starobin's excellent edition of primary sources related to the Vesey Conspiracy was most useful. Testimony not in the official record but part of manuscript collections, contemporary reactions to the plot, and private letters are contained in his volume. Starobin's edition adds to the body of literature on this little-studied rebellion effort and reveals that some sources related to it have yet to be fully utilized.

• (127)

67. Lofton, *Vesey's Revolt*, 142; Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 25, 50, 61, 64; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 46, 58–59.

68. Starobin, *Denmark Vesey*, 66; Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 61, 64; Gayraud S. Gilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of Afro-American People*, 2nd ed. rev. and enl. (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis Books, 1983), 57–58.

69. Kennedy and Parker, *Trial*, 61, 64.

70. Ibid., 43.

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Beaufort Baptist Church, Membership Rolls, and see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2; *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, 11–12, 14, 16, 18–19, 32, 55–56, 58, 66–68, 70; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church."

23. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 79–82; Stoney, "Autobiography of Grayson," 36; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13–17. Within this same article is a section entitled "Richard Fuller and Slavery," 11; and see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2.

24. Johnson, *Social History*, 103; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–20, 67–79; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 14–16.

25. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 81–106; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 14–16.

26. "Former Slaves Recollect Fuller," in Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 106–113; Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part I, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (May, 1864): 589–90.

27. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 26, 1853, 10–11; November 25, 1854, 16; November 14, 1857, 10–11, BC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, July 12, 1857, 2–3, 35; November 7, 1857, 241–43, BC.

28. This is an estimate and represents population based on the 1830 census returns. U.S. Census Office, *Sixth Census, 1840* (Washington: T. Allen, 1841), 95; see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.3.

29. See Appendix C, table C.2; U.S. Census, *Sixth Census*, 95–96, 226–27; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 22, 1845, 16, BC; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–50; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 273, BC.

30. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1848, 5, November 1859, BC; see Appendix C, table C.3.

31. Baker, *Life of Labours*, 155–56; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–16, 64–65, 67–75; John Stapleton Papers, SCL, have information on the Rhetts, who bought Frogmore Plantation, St. Helena, from Stapleton in 1836; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church"; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL; Diary of John Edwin Fripp, Beaufort Township Library; For Princeton preference see "Notes and Documents; Antebellum and War Memories of Mrs. Telfair Hodgson," Sarah Hodgson Torian, ed., *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (December, 1953): 352; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 88–91; Johnson, *Social History*, 103–11; Hill Diary, SHC; Baptist Church at Black Swamp Mss., Lawton Family Papers, SCL; George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols., *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 and 3 in 4 Parts (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing), II (1) 155–58, 161–62; Jenkins Mikell, *Rumblings of the Chariot Wheels* (Columbia: The State Co., 1923), 201; Johnson, *Social History*, 114–15; Henry Noble Sherwood, ed., Introduction, "Journal of Miss Susan Walker, March 3d to June 6, 1862," *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 7 (January–March, 1912): 5.

32. Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 201–2; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, Supp. I (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1871), 197–202; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 353–56; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 140–43, 203–11; Mason Crum, *Gullah, Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 35–54.

33. Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, 12 (September, 1863): 295.

34. Janet Duitsman Cornelius, "God's Schoolmaster: Southern Evangelists to the Slaves, 1830–1860," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), 16–22; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 140–58.

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128 I am grateful to the members of my dissertation committee, Charles A. Ferguson, Gillian Sankoff, and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, for their invaluable ideas, suggestions, and encouragement at various stages of this study. I am indebted also to three people who early encouraged and aided my investigations of Gullah: Edith Trager Johnson, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Rebecca Agheyisi. Without Irma Cunningham's [127] earlier dissertation on the syntax of Gullah, the present work could not have been undertaken.

122 123 During my field work in coastal South Carolina, many people gave concrete help of different kinds. Through the courtesy of William S. Young, Thaddeus Thompson, Edgar Caddell, and Peggy Walker, I was able to spend valuable time with the school children of rural Georgetown County. In the island community, Prince and Rebecca Washington introduced me to the community and spent hours of treasured conversation with me. My mother, Mildred Mitchell Causey, and her sister, Annie Laurie Bonnette, opened their homes to me whenever needed; I benefited in many unforeseen ways from their years of teaching in the public schools of the state. Another native of the Waccamaw region, historian and folklorist 128 129 Charles W. Joyner, was a source of crucial information and

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128 insight at several points. My friend and colleague at
127 Winthrop College, Shirley Brice Heath, shared with me the joy of discovery and the pain of facing the unknown; her anthropological field work in up-country black communities
128 was an invaluable source of comparative data. My human and intellectual debt to Nolan Pliny Jacobson, my former professor at Winthrop, is greater than either of us knows.

Throughout my studies at Stanford, three people have been particularly supportive: Jean Beeson, Clara Bush, and Frank Nichols. I thank them for helping me to keep this work in perspective.

122 A Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship in Women's Studies during 1974-75 helped support the research and the writing of this dissertation.

8: Smith Q-4,5 (no date) 1926
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[174 10] or wrongly, as far back as 1822 the official governing body of the City of Charleston regarded Gullah as a corrupted form of Angola.

A second, more probable suggestion is that Gullah comes from the name of the Liberian group of tribes known as Golas living on the West Coast between Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. These Golas were formerly numerous and powerful, but have now dwindled to a small remnant tribe dwelling some thirty miles inland from Monrovia, the chief sea-port of Liberia. "The dialect of the West Coast, from which came these Gullah negroes," says a leading authority[1] on the subject, "was early commented upon as peculiarly harsh, quacking, flat in intonation, quick, [10] clipped, and peculiar even in Africa. Bosman, the Dutch sailor, described its peculiar tonality, and calls its speakers the 'quaquas, because they gabbled like geese'."

[174 52] Whether originally from Angola or from Liberia, these Gullah tribesmen after their enforced immigration to our shores formed a distinct and peculiar group. Their reso- [197] lute and persistent nature evidently assisted in impressing their dialectal characteristics on weaker and more plastic Negroes from elsewhere brought in contact with them, and definitely fixed for two hundred years the tonality of the Negro dialect of the Carolina and Georgia coast.[2]

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[1] Mr. John Bennett of Charleston, author of *Master Skylark*, *Madame Margot*, etc., who has been studying the Gullah language and history for a score of years. His article "Gullah: A Negro Patois" (*The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Part I, Oct., 1906; Part II, Jan., 1909) is a most scholarly and penetrating treatment. The present paper draws deeply from it, as also from the work of Mr. Gonzales. Mr. Bennett feels strongly that the Angola derivation for Gullah is quite without foundation; and reiterates his belief in a personal letter to the writer: "God alone knows all the *sources* of Gullah, (as a language) its vocables, its accents, etc.; but its name came from that odd, primitive people, back of Monrovia, whose name has been spelled various ways, but which, as we have it, is Gullah."

A third derivation, almost certainly wrong, may be mentioned in passing. Rev. Robert Hamill Nassau, M.D., who was for forty years a missionary in the French Congo, thought the Gullahs might come ultimately from a powerful tribe of Cagoni or Coni Negroes called Gwalla. [127]

[2] Many of these Negroes were brought to the West Indies and the Carolinas at an early date. The earliest were tempered by servitude in the islands of Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, San Domingo, etc., before arrival in Carolina. Later the untempered Africans were brought direct from the West Coast to Charleston.

An instance of the marked individuality and persistence of Gullah, even under adverse conditions, is told by John G. Williams in *De Ole Plantation*, (Preface V.): "More, perhaps, than a hundred years ago certain negroes were carried from a rice plantation in Colleton County and put on a cotton plantation in Barnwell District,

91 Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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St. Simon's Island

Through the kind offices of Chalmers S. Murray, of Charleston and Edisto Island, South Carolina, and Albert H. Stoddard, of Savannah, Georgia, and Daufuskie Island, South Carolina, the doors of their respective islands were opened to me. Their generous assistance will never be forgotten.

To Foresta H. [illegible]son Wood, I am deeply grateful for the many photographs she has generously contributed. To Clara E. Sipprell, Ralph Steiner, Dr. Orrin S. Wightman, Maxfield Parrish, Jr., and others I also give thanks for the use of various pictures.

To Creighton Churchill I am under obligation for his inspiring coöperation and sustained interest.

But for the help generously given by Mary Burnet, of Athens, Georgia, I doubt if this book would ever have been finished. My debt of gratitude to her is immeasurable.

Thanks due these and other friends must not, however, obscure the fact that without the coöperation of the colored singers—the only people qualified through their racial background to present properly the traditional songs—there would have been no occasion for this book or these acknowledgments.

Although Julia Armstrong, of the singing Proctor family, has never told me the half of what she knows, particular thanks are due her for the help she has given since 1915. Her husband, Joe Armstrong, her brother, Willis Proctor, Cornelia and Edith Murphy, and others at the South End of St. Simon's have all aided in resurrecting old songs. Ben Davis, of the North End, comes of another family of singers, and special mention is due him for his loyalty and dependability. Bessie Cuyler, Catherine Ramsey, Peter Davis, Alec Stewart, and Mansfield Jackson have demonstrated the fine spirit on which the successful presentation of this type of music depends. There are other first-rate singers on the island, but the foregoing are singled out because they recognize that the requirements of the group take precedence over those of the individual.

When a causeway was put across the marshes in 1924 and St. Simon's Island was connected with the mainland, we were able to include other Glynn County singers in our "Spiritual Singers Society of Coastal Georgia." Among those who have proved their devotion to the slave songs are Jeffry Union and Susyanna Vallion. Several of the children in the Broadfield contingent, trained by Susyanna and her assistants, Clara Roberts, "Coots" Hightower, and Gertrude Cohen, now sing at the Cabin on St. Simon's with the older group. In McIntosh County, Josephine Young is an able exponent of the old-style singing: so are Henry Shaw, Rosa Sallins, Julia Walker, Nancy and Alphonzo Thorpe.

10: Johnson S-4,5 (no date) 1930
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128 lanta's contributions, and at the same time something of a
114 note of caution to those who are too quick to ascribe to Africa the peculiarities of American Negro folk music.

The final section sketches briefly the folklore of St. Helena Island, with enough illustrative material to lend concreteness to the outline. It should be read as supplementary to the larger work, *Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina*, by Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, published by the American Folk-Lore Society in 1923.

It would be proper to include in the present work an account of the customs, folkways, and mores of the Islanders, but since these are ably treated in T. J. Woofter, Jr.'s, *Black Yeomanry*, I have omitted them in order to avoid duplication.

128 I am indebted to numerous persons on St. Helena
127 Island for generously contributing folk songs, folk tales, and other folk material; especially to Miss Rossa B. Cooley and Miss Grace B. House, principals of Penn School, for facilitating the collection of data in many ways; to Professor Reed Smith, of the University of South Carolina, for reading the section on dialect and making valuable suggestions; to Professor Arthur Palmer Hudson, of the University of Mississippi, for reading the entire manuscript and making critical notations, some of which I have incorporated into the work; to Professor Harold S. Dyer, Head of the Department of Music, University of North Carolina, for reading the section on folk songs; to Miss Katharine Jocher, of the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, for assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press; to

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PREFACE

THIS STUDY of the social history of the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia, and more particularly of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, is one of three volumes resulting from the coöperative research project concerning Negro culture on St. Helena Island made under the joint auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and the Social Science Research Council. It was originally planned as a brief background study, but, in the search for data, so many valuable manuscript pieces were unearthed from dusty attics, strong-boxes, and long-forgotten chests that it was deemed advisable to lengthen the study into many pages. Later, the archives of the United States Treasury Department were opened for purposes of this research, and for the first time a complete picture of the Sea Islands during the Federal occupation throughout the Civil War has been made possible.

I have attempted to trace the history of one of the largest of the Sea Islands in its relation to the larger history of the coastal area of which it is inextricably a part. I have been concerned chiefly with cultural developments rather than with men and with politics, and I have always sought to discover the historical antecedents of life on St. Helena as it is today. I have brought this history to the close of the Reconstruction Period. The subsequent history of the Island—the struggle of the people to keep their land in the face of poverty, the destruction of their money crop by the coming of the boll weevil and the consequent economic re-adjustment, the prosperity of a few despite these handicaps, the broadening influence of Penn School on the lives of the people—is told in *Black Yeo-*

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121 *manry* by T. J. Woofter, Jr. Other special aspects of the
113 island culture, such as the Gullah dialect, folk songs, and folklore, are presented in the third volume, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, by Guy B. Johnson.

127 In the preparation of this manuscript I have become
128 greatly indebted to many persons. To name all of those who have assisted me in obtaining data or in putting me on the trail of old plantation records would make a long list. I am grateful to each of them. I am especially indebted to Mr. William Elliott, of Columbia, South Carolina, who has generously lent me all of his family papers bearing on the study and who has carefully gone over my manuscript; to Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, who very kindly made the records in his office accessible for purposes of this study and who has made many valuable notations on my manuscript; to Miss Rossa B. Cooley and Miss Grace B. House, principals of Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, of St. Helena Island, who have graciously facilitated the collection of data; to Professor J. G. de R. Hamilton and Professor R. D. W. Connor, of the History Department of the University of North Carolina, and Dr. Katharine Jocher, assistant director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, who have carefully read the manuscript; and to Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., director of the St. Helena project, who has sympathetically guided this study to its completion. I am also indebted to Mr. George Foster Peabody and the Corporation of Yaddo for a delightful summer at Triuna Island, on Lake George, where much of this manuscript was written.

June, 1930. G. G. J.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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